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The INTEREST
OF
The English Nation
Under the Happy Government
OF
King William III.

Once more Asserted :
In ANSWER to the
Challenge of a Jacobite.

WHEREIN IS PROVED

*That that Law which forbids taking up Arms against
the King upon any Pretence whatsoever, is Con-
sistent with the late Revolution.*

By Philo-Kalo-Basileos.

*If we take the whole People as one Body and Mass, then as the Head is or-
dained for the Body, and not the Body for the Head; so must a Right-
eous King know himself ordained for his People, and not his People
for him. King James I. his Speech to both Houses of Parliament,
March 19. 1603.*

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THE GREAT

WHITE

King William III

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THE PREFACE.

EVer since our Glorious Monarch King William came to the Crown, I have made it my Business upon all occasions to the utmost of my Power and Capacity, to Assert his Interest, and to set forth the Happiness of these Kingdoms, together with my own Unspeakable Satisfaction under his Government.-----To this purpose I have written several Papers, some of which were lost in the Crowd, when they were by Learned Hands recommended to the Publick, and others have been neglected, and thrown aside as inconsiderable; and yet for all that I am not discouraged: For I find so much Pleasure in the Cause I am Defending, and such Refreshment in diverting my self with Political Reflections in this Auspicious Reign, that however I may fail in the Management, I shall never be Deficient in my Zeal and Hearty Endeavours to Support and Maintain the present Government.

Amongst the rest, the following Discourse, together with the Vindication thereof, was extorted from me by the insolent Prating, and undecent Scribbling of certain Jacobites, one of which would needs urge upon me the following Case, which he presumed to be such a Capping Question as no Body could Answer. I say it was extorted from me at that Time, being unwilling to engage in a Debate with my Neighbours; and having besides other things under Consideration. For though such Rencontres are a Pleasure and Diversion to me, at a proper Season, yet when other Business is before me, or when my Mind is Cloudy, I am willing enough to leave these Debates to better Hands; being sensible that what is mean at best, must be yet meaner under such Circumstances. Upon which account the Reader will not find here so even a Thread of Discourse, as might be Expected. But that I little value, not seeking my own Credit, but the Security of the Government.

Had I begun to write about the Discovery of the Plot, it might perhaps have sharpened the Dulness of my Pen, and inspir'd a Creeping Style with Life and Vigour; but I was not so happily Tim'd. And even now when the Snare is broken, it is a better Season for Rejoycing and Thanksgiving, than for Satyr and Invektive: For the Jacobites have left us nothing to say; their Actions strike us Dumb; and their Bloody Designs cry so loud, that nothing can be heard. They have indeed been sufficiently ex-

THE PREFACE.

posed already, but this Plot has painted them more Black and Monstrous, more Loathsome and Abominable than any thing that has been said, or could be thought of heretofore. And if Oldham were alive again, he would be confounded with the Subject, and not know where to begin his Satyr. They are a Generation Profligate and Absurd beyond the Examples of former Ages, and made up of such Heterogeneous Stuff, that they are perfectly Unaccountable. But may they never succeed better in their Plotting, and we shall the better forgive them; especially since Vengeance is waiting for them, and Providence seems abhorrent of their Villany. And since they have left the Church because a Protestant King is there Prayed for, it is but Decorum, that they should Reform their Devotions, and, to their Prayers for K. James, add this for themselves,

Vos O mihi manes,
Este boni, quoniam superis aversa Voluntas.

After all, it is to be hoped, that the Jacobites will divide their Forces; and some that have not yet made Shipwrack of Shame and Modesty, may come over to our Party; others will be for making Apologies, endeavouring to shift the Odium of the Plot off from themselves; others may grow desperate, if they think fit, and rage like the Devil, when he has but a short time to reign; and some will fret and fry in their own Grease, like a certain Brother of theirs, mentioned by the Poet,

Qui Centum vinctus ahenis,
Post tergum nodis, fremit horridus ore Cruento.

But I now leave them, either to the Gallows, or at least the Discipline of their own wicked Minds, and the secret Lashes of an Evil Conscience.

Occulum quatiente animo tortore flagellum.

The

THE Challenge of a Jacobite ANSWERED.

Which was to shew, How that Law which forbids taking Arms against the King upon any Pretence whatsoever, is Consistent with the late Revolution.

IN the first place, I lay down this for a Foundation, That General Rules have, for the most part, some tacit Exception, which must of necessity be understood, tho' not expressed : And this is more especially so, when the nature of the thing is such, that the Exception ought not to be made, nor can be mentioned without great Inconvenience.

Now two things I am obliged to do in this matter ; first, I shall give several plain and undeniable Instances, to evince the Truth of what I have here laid down : And secondly, I shall give Reasons to shew that it ought to be so in the Case before us.

1. *Yet forty days, and Niniveh shall be overthrown*, Jonah 3.4. This, is positive and absolute ; yet here is to be understood, *Except they Repent*.

2. *Children obey your Parents in all things*, Ephes. 6. 1. Yet if they command sinful things, I must not obey them.

3. Wives are commanded in Scripture to be *subject to their Husbands in all things*, without any Exception mentioned ; yet still we must except sinful Commands.

4. Marriage obliges the Parties to live together till Death part them ;

them ; but Adultery may part them sooner, and that Legally too.

5. *Thou shalt not steal* : This is spoken without any explicit Reservation ; and yet Casuists tell us, That in Cases of extream hunger, and peril of Starving, and being deny'd all manner of Relief, a Man may take where he can come to it, any thing to eat or drink, for the preservation of Life. But after the strictness of this Precept, even the plucking Ears of Corn and eating them, in another Mans Field, is plain Stealing.

Now as on the one hand, both Scripture and Reason will justify these Exceptions ; so on the other side, there is all the reason in the World why they should not be expressed : For if *Jonah* had preached to the *Ninevites*, That they should be destroyed in forty days, if they repented not ; it's very like they would have delayed their Repentance : But the Terror of a Peremptory Doom wrought more effectually.

If Children and Wives had been commanded Obedience with a Reserve, it would have implied that Husbands and Parents might prove so wicked as to command them sinful things, which ought not to be supposed : And then ill-disposed Children might disobey upon slight occasions, and fancy all such Commands to be unjust, as they had not a mind to observe.

If Marriage did oblige the Parties to live together till Death or Adultery should make a Separation, and that it were so expressed in the Office ; this would be an odious and shameful Insinuation, that one or both of them might prove so wicked, as to give occasion of Divorce.

And if the Law had said, *Thou shalt not steal*, without extream Necessity ; this would have been taken for little less than a License to steal, every one judging for himself of his own Necessity.

Thus we may see how natural it is for General Words to carry along with them, a reserved Condition or Limitation, which yet ought by no means to be Mentioned or Expressed. And thus it is in the Case before us : For if the Law had Said, *Thou shalt not take Arms against the King upon any pretence whatsoever, Except the King designs to Subvert the Government*, This would have been a Disloyal Intimation, that the King might prove a Tyrant ; and would have given Incouragment to the people to Suspect his Intentions ;

tions; and many times, without any Cause, to Censure his Actions; Yet, that thus it must be Understood, will Appear by the Reasons Following.

1. The first is this, That if it be Understood in the Utmost Force and Latitude that the words will bear, it makes Void all other Laws; nay even the Law of God cannot stand in its way. If you take it by the wrong handle, it will be so ill Condition'd as to Suffer no Law but it Self. The design of the Law is to secure to Every Man his Right. It is by Law that we attend our Callings, that we Eat and Sleep in quietness, that we Enjoy what we Call our Own, that we can serve God in Peace, and that our Churches are not turned into Idol-Temples. But now if we must upon no account whatsoever defend these Rights when they are Invaded, what benefit have we by the Law? Or to what End serves it? If we must upon no pretence whatsoever, even at the utmost Extremity, resist the Illegal Proceedings of the Prince, then is the whole Law of *England* no more but Sham; and whatsoever we have, we enjoy it only at the Kings discretion, and during his pleasure: Nay all the Societies of men in *England*, are no more but as so many Herds of Cattel to Labour for the Use, and to be slaughtered at the pleasure of the King. So that either we must qualify that Article of the Law, or give up all the rest.

2. There is a difference (as all men know) between the power of *Making* Laws, and the power of *Executing* the same; the latter rests intirely in the King, but not the former. Now with respect to the Executive power, we yield (if that will please our Adversaries) That the King is not to be resisted, upon any pretence whatsoever; Whilst he is Executing the Law, no man may say unto him *What doest thou?* Whatever colour there may be of misadministration, that can be no just ground of Resistance, because the Law provides a remedy, and the Ministers must Answer for it. But then, this can never be Extended to the Legislative Power, unless you will suppose that the Parliament when they made that Law, intended not only to Cancel all the rest, but never to make any more. This had been a final Dissolution of all Parliaments, and of the Government it self: It had put all into the Kings hands, and made him Arbitrary by a Law. As if they had Enacted, *Let the King*

King henceforward make Laws without a Parliament, Let him pull down the Church and set up an Idol, Let him Alienate his Kingdom, and sell his People for Slaves, or any thing else, what he pleases : Nay, if he be seiz'd with a Phrenzy, and Kill the People about him, he is not to be resisted, upon any pretence whatsoever. And if he should Attempt to kill himself, there is no means of prevention, no touching him, no laying hands upon him, tho' it be for his Safety : See what Extremity and Absurdity this Doctrine of our Adversaries leads to ! But if they will admitt of an Accommodation, we are Content to Divide the Truth, and let them take one half, but we will never yield the other. The King then in Executing the Laws made according to the Constitution of the Government, is not to be resisted on any Account whatsoever : But if they will have the King to make Laws by himself, and do what he pleases without Resistance, they talk without book, and will never be Convinced till they are going to the Gallows, or to a Stake.

3. The King, being no more than a Man, cannot do much harm by his own proper strength ; so that supposing him to be a Tyrant, I never can fear that he will come in Person and take away my Life or Estate : He must then act by Commissioners. Now these Commissioners must be duly qualified persons, and rightly Commissioned according to Law, to do some legal Act. Coming then under these Circumstances, they are God's Ministers to me for my Good ; in resisting them, I resist the Ordinance of God, and must expect Damnation and Judgment, for so doing. And here again I suppose the *Jacobites* and I are perfectly Agreed. But what if these pretended Commissioners should happen to be Papists, French Dragoons, or Rapparees, and came without any legal Commission, to Robb me, by vertue of a Writing, which they call a Commission, under the Kings Hand and Seal, what then ? Why truly then I might happen to be Robb'd or Murdered. And what say our Self-denying Adversaries to this ? They say I must patiently suffer and submit ; for tho' these persons be not qualified according to Law, yet they Act according to the King's pleasure, and I must lie at their Feet ; Yes, so I would, if I could not help it : But so would I do at the Feet of High-way-men, and from them I should find more Mercy. Thieves and Robbers spoil some particular Persons :

persons : But these are the Villains that destroy Government. Were it not for these, the King could do no harm : They are Devouring Beasts, and Savage Monsters broken loose ; and ought to be treated accordingly.

4. I shall add in the 4th place, That the King of *England* is King by Law, it is by Law that he wears a Crown, and is clothed with Royal Power : But if he Subverts the Foundation of the Government, he takes away the Foot he stands upon ; he destroys his own Authority, and Ceases to be a King ; He is then but like *Robin-hood*, an Out-law : For a King without Law, Implies a Contradiction. The Matter then in sh^rt is this ; The King Executing the Law is not to be resisted upon any pretence whatsoever ; but if he lay aside the Law, and become Arbitrary, He divests himself of his Crown and Dignity, and is no longer a King.

But because our Adversaries will storm heavily at this Saying, how Undeniable so ever it be, let us see if we can Strengthen it by Authority ; And first, That of a Wise and Learned King, *viz.* *James* the First, who in a Speech before the Parliament, 1609. has these words. *A King Governing in a Settled Kingdom, leaves to be a King, and Degenerates into a Tyrant, as soon as he leaves off to Rule according to his Laws ; and they that perswade them the Contrary, are Vipers and Pests, both against them and the Commonwealth.* So that it seems a King may fall from his Power, and cease to be a King ; and he actually does so, when he leaves off to Rule according to his Laws. Let us now see what the force of Truth has Extorted from a Learned Man of our Adversaries Party, a Mighty Asserter of Monarchical Power, the Famous *Barclay*. Two Cases, he saies, *there are, whereby a King, ipso facto, becomes no King, and loses all power and Regal Authority over his people, for he divests himself of his Royal Crown and Dignity, he returns to the state of a private Man, and the People become free and Superiour.* All the words in the Dictionary cannot cutt deeper than these, nor kill the Cause more Dead upon the Sport : to Add any thing, would be Substraction ; and to offer at Illustration would be to darken. I shall only mention his two Cases, and leave it. The first is, *If the King Endeavour to overturn the Government, and have a purpose and Design to ruin the Kingdom and Common wealth.* The Second is, *If he make himself the Dependant of another, and betray his people into th^e Power*

and Dominion of a forreign Nation. These two Cases are both so like ours of Late, that one would think this Author had written by Inspiration: And the best of all is, he is taken for an Enemy, which makes his Testimony on our sides the more Considerable.

By this time I think it may appear, that *Non-resistance* is not to be taken in the rigid and inflexible Sence of our Adversaries; but so qualified as to let the English Frame and Constitution of Government stand where it is. But there is nothing, almost, which may not be Spoiled by overdoing: Nothing better in a well-settled Government than *Obedience*; but once misplaced, there's nothing worse. This is that which had it been Universal, had left nothing ere this day, but Grief and Lamentation, Chains and Slavery, Superstition and Idolatry, for which Posterity might have had cause to Curse the Servile Baseness of the present Generation, had not *K. William*, and many Noble *English-men*, stood in the Gapp, to Save the Nation from Sudden Ruine, and from a Sad Character in after times.

Now let our Adversaries stand still a little, and Consider whether they be not *righteous overmuch Eccl. 7. 16.* And whether they do not make themselves over-wise. I would as soon pass my word for Wisdom and Righteousness, that they should not be Capable of Excess, as any thing Else that I can think off: And yet even in that Case the wisest of Kings thought a caution Necessary. And this is the Character of those men we have to deal with; they will be wiser than the Publick Wisdom of the Nation; and more Righteous than the whole Church whereof they profess to be Members.

I very well remember the time when these Men, above others, were Continually Charging the Dissenters with Pride and Self-Conceit, with willful Obstinacy, with Faction and Disobedience; some could find nothing Else to Preach on, and others made it their common Discourse; and now, *out of their own mouths they are Justly Condemn'd.* Some Dissenters indeed have some needless Scruples about *Ceremonies*; but These only scruple *Deliverance*; and so be Saved from Ruine and Misery, lies heavy upon their Conscience. They pay *Faith* and *Allegiance* to a *Tyrant*, or a *Non-Ens*; and they return *Malice* and *Ignominy* for *Security* and *Protection*.

I shall conclude this matter with a Sentence taken from a very learned Pen, which also has been asserted by others ; Namely, *That when a Prince breaks in upon the Religion and Liberties of his People, they ought to stand up in their own Defence, and may also call in a Neighbour, or Forreigner to their Assistance.* And this very thing has been Declared Lawful by Queen Elizabeth, by K. James the first, by K. Charles the first, with their Parliaments ; and by Arch Bishop Laud into the Bargain, as may be further made Evident upon occasion.

And here I thought to have made an End ; But I find our Adversaries, when other reasons fail them, betake themselves to the Bible, wherein they think to find their Unlimited Power and passive Obedience. I cannot pretend to Remember all those passages of Scripture, which they have Press'd for this Service ; but two or three of the more remarkable, I shall Endeavour at present to Release from the Unnatural force and Violence put upon them, and the rest as I meet with them.

First Prov. 30. 31. *A King against whom there is no rising up.* I grant it, in the Sence afore-mentioned : That is, So long as he remains a King, and Keeps the Laws, he is a Rebel that opposes him : But when he falls from that, he is a Rebel himself. I speak not this at Random, but I'll make it good. The first King of Israel was a Rebel, if you will believe the Prophet Samuel : For he plainly Charges him with Rebellion. Behold (saies he) *to obey is better than Sacrifice, and to harken than the fat of Rams : For Rebellion is as the Sin of Witchcraft &c.* 1. Sam. 15. 22.

God had given a Command to Saul, that he should Smite Amaleck and Destroy utterly all that they had. This was the Law he was to observe : But he disobeyed it, and thereupon the Prophet not only gives him a severe Reprimand, but Saul lost his Kingdom beside. After this, David was so far from Nonresistance, that he Armed himself in his own Defence, and about 600 Men. And he Seiz'd upon Strong-holds at Engedi. 'Tis true, David would not Kill him Cowardly, which was a Noble and brave Example, but had he met him fairly in the Field, no doubt but he would have Fought him. He gave him at one time such a Lecture as made him fall a weeping : At another time he preach'd to him from the

top of an Hill, so long till *Saul* Prophesied *David's* Success, and the ruine of his own Kingdom. *Thou shalt both doe great things, and also shalt prevail.* 1.Sam.26.25. Now all this being done by *David* in a posture of Defence, and probably with *Goliath's* Sword in his hand, amounts sufficiently to a Rising up against *Saul*, and Consequently that these words are not to be taken Strictly, but in such a qualified sence as may comport with other parts of Scripture, as will further appear by considering another Text here following, *Eccles.* 8. 4. *Who may say unto a King what doest thou?*

With the former Scripture our Adversaries would bind our hands, and with this they would tye our tongues: The one must deprive us of Self-Defence, and the other of the Liberty of Speech. It is not Enough to Suffer unjustly and to be destroyed, but it is a Crime to Complain, or to represent our Grievances. How unlike are some *Earthly Gods* to the *God of Heaven*, whose Authority they have, and whom they ought to Resemble! He invites, nay he Commands us to petition him for what we want. They Cannot bear to be petition'd at all, but call it *Rebellion*. He will not suffer us to be tempted beyond what we are able to bear: They will take our Fields and Vineyards, make us Slaves and Beggars, and we may not enquire the reason.

*En quo discordia Cives
Perduxit miseros! En quæ consecvimus agros!*

Such was the Effect of Court Flattery, that none must look into the Kings Measures, nor dare to ask a Question: None must admonish him of Danger, reprove him of Evil, nor advise him for Good; for *who may say unto him, What doest thou?* *Counsellors* and *Chaplains* (at this rate) must all take their leave, there's no occasion or business for them. This indeed was lately our Case, and thus our Adversaries would have it still.

But by their Favour, as the Case is now (God be praised) happily altered, so neither is this the intent of the Text, it being only an Emphatical Expression to shew the Greatness of a Kings Power, and how insolent a thing it is, to question him in the just Exercise of his Regal Authority, whilst he is Executing the *Laws* of his Coun-

Country, for the punishment of Evil Doers, and for the Praise of them that Do Well, why should any one oppose him? But if he be setting Fire to a City, subverting his Government, betraying his People, or destroying himself: One need not ask indeed what he is a doing, for the thing speaks it self; He is throwing off his *Crown*, and *Dignity*, and Resistance is the only way to keep it on. This should be endeavoured with all the respect to a Crowned Head, that the matter will bear; but if Force be necessary, it must be used. They are good Subjects that prevent their *King's* falling down a Precipice, tho' it be by violent Hands; but they are *Traitors*, who out of Respect and Reverence will let him break his Neck. And we have the Authority of King *James* the First, and of the Learned *Barclay*, *That where a King has no Authority, there he ceases to be King, and returns to the state of a private Man.* But call him *King* still, if you please, it is however the Duty of his *Council*, and those about him, who have opportunity, to admonish him of Danger, and prevent his Ruine as far as they can. before it be too late. And perhaps the mis-applying of this very Text, may have made some Men over-Cautious, and deprived *Kings* of that free and wholesome Advice which might have been greatly serviceable to them.

Let us now look into the Scriptures, and see whether what has been said to *Kings* in former times, may not seem to counter-balance this Interrogative, *What doest thou?* *Samuel* told King *Saul*, he *had done foolishly*, and charges him with Disobedience, Stubbornness, and Rebellion. *Elijah* told King *Ahab*, *That he had sold himself to do evil in the sight of the Lord*, and that it was *he and his Fathers House* that troubled *Israel*. These are Reproofs to the purpose, and certainly of no less importance than to say, *What doest thou?* Now it is to be supposed that God would inspire his *Prophets* to speak such words to their *Kings*, as were not fit to be spoken by others upon the like Occasion? So that I conclude, this Text hinders not at all, but that a *King* pulling down the *Church* and the *Law*, and setting up *Superstition*, *Idolatry*, and *Arbitrary Power*, may be questioned and gainsaid by his *Council*, and resisted too, by the Majority of the Nation.

Another Text, which is wont to be urged for the Power and Sa-
credness

credness of *Kings*, is *Prov. 8. 15. By me Kings reign, and Princes decree Justice*: But I never hear them read the Context, *I me Princes rule, and Nobles, even all the Judges of the Earth*: And good reason, for this would prove too much, and more than they would have, namely, that *Judges* are *Jure Divino*, as well as *Kings*; for by the same *Logick* that the one is inferred from the 15th Verse, the other will follow from the 16th Verse; I challenge any one to shew me the difference. This would have been strange Doctrine in the late *Reign*, when *Durante Beneplacito* came into fashion, and *Judges* were turn'd out for doing Right.

But I do not see how either of the two can be proved from this Scripture: For who is this *Me*, and this *I*, mentioned here in my Text? It is not *Solomon*, for *vers. 23. I was set up from Everlasting*. Nor is it *God* himself, for at *Vers. 22.* he says, *The Lord possessed me in the beginning*. But it is *Wisdom* which is here spoken of, and which *Solomon* personates all along, speaking in the first Person, from Verse the 12th to the end of the Chapter; and setting forth the Nature and Excellency, the Power and Advantages of *Wisdom*; *I Wisdom dwell with Prudence, &c.* and a little after, *By me Kings reign, &c.* So then the plain meaning of the Text is this, That *Kings* reign by *Wisdom*, and that *Nobles* and *Judges*, who have the Administration of Publick Affairs, are qualified by *Wisdom* to manage the great Concerns and Business of a *Kingdom*; And tho' all *Kings* and *Ministers* of State are not thus qualified (which is the Cause of many short and unfortunate Reigns) yet here we are taught what it is that qualifies them for *Government*, and that *Wisdom* is to be sought by them more than fine *Silver*, and *Knowledge* rather than choice *Gold*. If this Lesson had been well learned by our late *Kings*, *England* had been a flourishing Nation at this day, and might perhaps have given *Laws* to the *Christian World*.

By this time our Adversaries will be ready to demand, after their scoffing manner, When is it time for the People to *Rebel*? And who must judge between them and their *King*? To this I shall answer, after I have made an Observation about the word *Rebel*, or *Rebellion*.

It has been oft observed by Learned Men, that the Scripture condescending to humane Capacity, uses such Forms of Speech as are com-

common among Men, tho' the same are not to be taken in a strict and proper sence. Thus it is said *God made two great Lights, the one to Rule the Day, the other to Rule the Night*; whereas it is certain that the *Moon* has no more light in it self than a Stone-Wall; only it shines by reflecting to us that borrowed Light it receives from the *Sun*. So when a People Arm themselves against their *King*, it is very obvious to call it *Rebellion*, tho their Cause be never so just: And it seems to me, that the Scripture in sundry places speaks after the same manner, calling that *Rebellion*, which strictly and properly is not so, or which at least is not *Rebellion* in a Criminal Sence.

This perhaps may seem strange to some People; but let them impartially consider *1 Kings 12. 19.* where it is said, *Israel rebelled against the House of David unto this Day*: And to this Day they were never reprov'd for it; and good reason, *For this thing is from Me, saith the Lord*, by the Prophet *Shemaiah*, vers. 24. Nor can we call this a bare Permission, but it was Determined before-hand, and a Prophet sent to *Jeroboam* to give him Notice of it, *Behold I will rend the Kingdom out of the hand of Solomon, and will give Ten Tribes to thee*, *1 Kings 11. 31.* And why should God do this? *Because*, says he, *they have forsaken me and worshipped Idols, &c.* So that here is a peremptory Decree for this Defection, with the Reason annexed, and God ordered second Causes so as to bring it about. Learned Men may dispute, if they please, whether the Ten Tribes were free Agents in what they did; it is evident from the Text, That this Revolt of theirs was the Purpose and Design of God, and was approved by him, tho' it is called in Scripture *Rebellion*.

Another Instance of this kind we have in *2 Kings 18. 7.* where it is said of *Hezekiah*, *That he rebelled against the King of Assyria*. Was *Hezekiah* an Offender in this? No, *for the Lord was with him*. Whatever Promises or Covenants had passed between him and the King of *Assyria*, we know not: This is certain, That King *Hezekiah* did well in throwing off the *Assyrian* Yoke, tho' it hath the name of *Rebellion*; *for he clave to the Lord and departed not from following him, but kept his commandments*. So that after him was none like him among all the Kings of *Judah*, nor any that were before him. Behold here a Sinless *Rebellion*, which was the thing I aim'd

at ; and now let the *Jacobites* call us *Rebells* or what Else they please.

I shall now proceed to give my Answer, when it is time to *Rebel* : having first declared when it is not time. It is not to fly to *Arms* for some few private Injuries done to particular persons, whilst Law has its due Course in the Main, and the Vital parts of *Government* remain safe. Indeed people are seldom forward to hazard their own Lives and Fortunes to Revenge private wrongs. Nor yet ought they to Embroil a *Kingdom* for some publick Miscarriages of the *King*, when it may be reasonably suppos'd, that he hath Us'd his Prerogative for the good of his people, to the best of his Judgment, tho' in Effect it hath proved Contrary. What is well meant, and will afford a tollerable reason, should be forgiven, notwithstanding the ill Consequence, when it is not wilfully persisted in. There is a time for Prayers as well as for Self-defence, and that should be try'd in the first place ; and so long as any hope remains, it is a proper Season for Faith and Patience.

But when the *Kings* Illegal Proceedings have Extended one way or other to the Majority of the People, and from particular injuries have advanced to an invasion upon all mens *Liberties* ; When the Violence that has affected many, is of such a Nature and Consequence as to threaten All ; When High-Commission-Courts are set up to disseiz Men of their *Free-holds*, and *Charters* call'd in for packing of *Parliaments* ; When honest *Magistrates* are every where turn'd out, and sworn Enemies to the *Establis'd Government* fill their places ; When we are threatned, like the *Israelites*, to be Chastized with Scorpions, and Foreign *Cut-throats* like to be let in among us ; When *Religion* and *Property*, *Life* and *Posterity*, are almost within the Jaws of a Gaping *Monster* ; When all the Foundations, and the whole Frame of *Government* are so shaken, that Dissolution must ensue ; When there is no hope left, nor any Counsel can be heard but *Jesuites* and bigotted *Papists* ; And to compleat all, when all Men are sensible, and three quarters at least of the Nation are perswaded in their Consciences that all this is really so : If ever Men will stand up for Self-Defence, and to save Posterity, *This is the Time*. When Matters are brought to this
pass,

pass, to talk of *Passive Obedience*, is the greatest Nonsense in the World ; and to tell the People of being subject to Authority, when there is no Authority, but Illegal Force, and all the Rules and Measures of Government broken, is to talk to the Wind, and persuade Men to be tamely *Murder'd* in Obedience to *Illegal Violence*. *Rebellion* in this Case (as they please to call it) becomes a *Duty* ; and to be *Passive*, is to Betray the Nation. And then for the other part of the Question about a *Judge*, there is none upon Earth to determine this Matter, but the *Sword*. Every Man will Judge for himself, and Consult as he can for his own Safety : But there lies no Appeal, but only to the Court of *Heaven* for the Success of the *Cause* ; and that Court (*God* be praised) has determin'd the Matter, by sending us a *King* that Maintains our *Laws* and *Ancient Government*.

 PART II.

A
D E F E N C E
 OF THE
 Foregoing **DISCOURSE**
 A G A I N S T

Certain Exceptions Communicated in Writing.

S I R,

I Received your Paper of Exceptions against what I have been saying hitherto, in behalf of the present *Government*, and in Defence of the late Happy *Revolution*: But I am sorry you should trouble your self and me with so many trite and common things, which have had full and sufficient Answers *usque ad Nauseam*: However since you seem to expect it, I shall go thro' them all; and doubt not to satisfy any indifferent Person. But such as are, or seem to be under Judicial Blindness and Infatuation, may seek for Conviction by *Miracle*, if they please; and 'tis a question whether that would do it: For they do not appear to be capable of any Satisfaction, till they find it in the smart of that *Misery* and *Slavery*, which they have long been Courting and Admiring, and are now grown Impatient of Delay. But of you I hoped better things, and shall be sorry to find my self mistaken.

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The first thing I meet with is this ; *But what, I pray, if Kings misdeemean themselves in their Government, must they presently cease to be Kings ?*

You put this *Question*, as if you had not read what you are pretending to Answer, without taking any notice of what I quoted you from *K. James* and *Mr. Barclay*, and so you go on as if nothing at all had been said in this Matter.

Therefore I proceed to

The next thing ; *God Almighty made them Kings, and how can less Authority Dethrone them ?*

This is no better than pure *Sophistry*, as if *Kings* were not of *Humane Race*, but made in *Heaven*, and sent down upon *Earth* to devour *Mortals*, like so many *Frogs* to be eaten up by a *Stork* without any hopes of Deliverance. What would you think if I should advance this for an Argument, *God* makes *Merchants* and *Lawyers* ; therefore *Merchants* cannot break, nor *Lawyers* prevaricate. I am sure *Kings* are not made without Means no more than other Conditions of Men : All is Providence, from the Throne to the Dungeon ; and we find in Scripture *Kings* made by the *People*. Nay even *Hereditary Kings* are made by the *People* as well as *Elective* : For Crowns, at this day, are not Intail'd by Messages from *Heaven*, but by *Laws* made upon *Earth* ; and I pray who made these *Laws* ? Had the *People* no Hand in them ? Historians tell us, That the Right Descent of English *Kings* has been broken now Nine times since *K. William* the First. And the Scriptures tell us, That the Lineal Succession of the *Kings* of *Israel* and *Judah* have been Interrupted and cut off, sometimes by express Nomination from *God* by a *Prophet*, and sometimes also Providentially. *Jehu*, a Subject, was Anointed *King* by a *Prophet*, *Baasha* slew *Nadab* and Succeeded in the *Kingdom*, and *Omri* was made *King* by the *People* without any Divine Appointment. So that here is *Jus Divinum*, the *Sword*, and the *People*, each of them setting up their several *King*. And in a word, all *Kings* are made and unmade by Divine Providence, which puts down one and sets up another ; and we quarrel at this, and think much that *God* should Rule the World, unless he give us a particular Account of his Ways.

But suppose they do really design the Subversion of the Government, who shall or ought to punish them ?

Barclay says, in that Case, the *King returns to the state of a private Man, and the People become Free and Superior*. This is so cutting a thing, especially from one of your own Party, that I suppose you durst not so much as touch it. But I Answer ; None ought to punish the *King*, nor to hurt his Person, tho' he be fall'n from his Power : But I say, that when a *Government* is breaking up, and all things at the brink of Ruin and Confusion, every Man ought to stand for his Life, and to Defend his *Family* and *Posterity*, the best he can, from future *Misery* ; otherwise they are guilty of Self-Murder, and of Betraying their Country, provided they be in a Condition to appear in the Field, as many Brave *Englishmen* did at *York*, and in *Cheshire*, and other places of this *Kingdom*, in Nov. 1688. In the mean-time, the *King* is to be Counsell'd to keep within the Sanctuary of the *Law*, or at least to keep his Person out of Danger, and not to Head his Party. But if he will, against all Justice, Prudence, and Perswasions, Join with Wicked Men, and Expose himself to Blind *Bullets*, and fall in the *Field*, it is to be lookt upon as an Accidental thing, and none can help it. God forbid that any one should think of hurting him on purpose ; and Charge should be given to all to beware as much as possible of so doing. For this, see further that Nameless, but very Learned Book, which your self put into my Hands.

You come next to your Boys Play, Give a thing and take a thing ; where from a certain *Maxim* of your Learned *Politician*, you infer, that the People have wholly and intirely divested themselves of all their *Power* and *Right*, without any Limitation whatsoever, and therefore they can by no means call for it back again.

I cannot deny at this time of Day, that a Free People may make themselves *Slaves* by Consent : There are those among us, who not only seem forward to do it, but take it ill that the whole Kingdom will not do the like. Hitherto I have thought it impossible that any Wise Man should do an Act without having some end in it ; or should give up his whole Right to the *Will* of another, without any respect back again upon himself. But the *Jacobites*, whose Principles are Unaccountable, have given us a Demonstration of it, and

to them only are we Indebted for so Noble a Discovery. I could wish they would try the Experiment in *France*, and not trouble us here in *England*, who are under better Circumstances. Indeed those that have made an ill Bargain, must be content to stand by it, till they can be released: But we have made a good one, and will stand for it, not doubting the performance on either part. We have Sworn Allegiance to the *King*, and he has Sworn to Rule by *Law*; Allegiance and Protection are Correlatives, and will be so while this *Kingdom* stands: Take away the one, and the other falls to the Ground. But no *Scheme* of Politicks will please you, but that of *Hobbs*, or *Filmer*, which teacheth *Kings* to break through the most Sacred and Solemn *Obligations*, and to Act *Leviathan* without Controul.

Your last Argument was *Argumentum Puerile*, taken from Boys Play; the next is *Argumentum Pestiferum*, taken from the Common Pests of the Nation, as you are pleased to style the poor *Bailiffs*; and thus you express it.

As to the Power in not being resisted in the Execution of the *Laws*, which you are pleased to allow to *Kings*, if that be all they are *Kings* for; truly I think they are in a far worse state and condition than the Common Pests of the Nation, the Rogue *Bailiffs*.

But by your Favour, I did not say, that is all they are *Kings* for, but I said the *King* in Executing the Law is not to be Resisted, not denying him his proper share in the *Legislative Power*, in which none will oppose him: But if he should assume the whole Legislative Power, as some in Effect have done, that would mightily alter the Case. But besides all this, the *King* of *England* has a *Royal Prerogative*, which is not a Dispensing Power, or a Power above the *Law* to do what he pleases; but it is a Power Residing in the *King*, partly defin'd and limited by the *Law* it self, and partly left to the *King's* Wisdom and Clemency, to be exerted for the Benefit of the Subject, where the edge of the *Law* is too sharp, which often happens by Casualty or Humane Infirmary. For the *Law* is an Excellent *Rule*, but in many Cases it may be defeated; nor can it provide for all future Accidents. Infirmary or Knavery in Witnesses may occasion a wrong Sentence: And *Laws* can never be made to compleat, but that *Summum Jus* may happen to be *Summa Injuria*.

So that the *King's* Prerogative is to Relieve the Subject in Extraordinary Cases, and being used with Prudence and good Advice, is a Glorious *Jewel* of the *Crown*.

Let us now pursue the Comparison between an English *Monarch* and a *Bailiff*: The one let us View upon a *Throne*, Cloathed with Power and Excellent *Majesty*, Vested with a Noble Prerogative, and giving his Royal Assent to *Laws* made for the Punishment of Evil-doers, and for the Praise of them that do well: Or let us consider him in the Field giving *Laws* to *Princes*, Commanding many Thousands, Protecting the Innocent, Defending the *Faith*, Astonishing his Enemies, and for several Years together Defying the *Philistine*, and Desiring Nothing more than to meet him fairly in the Field. Now what is there in a *Bailiff*, to bear up the Credit of such a Comparison? He is indeed a Lawful and Necessary *Officer*, but I know not how it comes to pass that he should not only be a *Rogue*, but the Common *Pest* of the Nation. If this be a mean Character of a *Bailiff* (as I think it is) what must it be of the *King* of *England*, who (because he is not Arbitrary) is in a far worse State and Condition? This is a vile Reflection upon the English Frame of *Government*, which many Wise Men think is the best Constitution in the *World*.

But here comes the Old Killing Question, as briskly as if it had never yet been Answered; Who must be Judge when the *King* has a Design to Subvert the *Government*? And 'tis brought in with these Triumphant words; *You see, Sir, what a goodly thing you have made of your so much boasted Cause and Demonstration of Nothing.*

To this I Answer, *First*, That some People thro' *Blindness*, and others thro' *Prejudice*, are not capable of a Demonstration. *Secondly*, I will venture my Paper and yours before any Learned Men, even tho' he be a *Jacobite*, and will for once be Judged by him, whether your Cause or mine is better Managed. *Thirdly*, You have in my Paper a full Answer to this very Question; but you do so abound in your own Sense, that you could not see it; or perhaps indeed you have not read it, for haste to get my Paper Answered. I shall therefore Answer it once more with some small Improvement. I say then, these very Three Parties you mention, name-

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ly, the *King*, the *People*, and a *Forreigner*, are all of them Competent Judges in this Matter.

For *first*, Cannot the *King* easily tell what he himself Designs to do? Certainly he is a Competent Judge of his own *Mind* and Intention, whether he declare it or not. K. James said in his First Council, he would Maintain the *Church of England*, and many well-meaning People were so simple as to believe him: Yet not long after it was declared in a private Letter (said to be his) *That he would Reduce the Kingdom to the Catholick Religion, or Die a Martyr*. But whether this be true or no, every Man certainly is a proper Judge of his own Intention, but he is not like to discover the same, when such Discovery may be a Means to prevent his Design.

Secondly, The People too are Judges in this Case: For cannot every Man tell what he feels, and what he fears? When a Man's *Head* is broken, or his *Goods* taken from him, he has reason to know that it is so; and his Neighbour that is a Spectator to Day, may be a Sufferer to Morrow. *Jam proximus ardet*, is *Scarborough* Warning. If a *Charter* be taken from a *Corporation*, are the People no Judges as to Matter of Fact? If the *Master* and *Fellows* of the *College* are turn'd out of their *Freehold*, must some body else Judge for them, and inform them that they want *Lodgings*? If a *Protestant Justice* of Peace be turn'd out of Commission, and a *Papist* put in his room, he certainly knows that he is not on the *Bench*, and is capable of making a Rational Judgment, not only of the Matter of Fact, but of the Consequence. If I see a *Cut-throat* Murdering my Neighbour, and then making towards me with his long *Knife*, you would have me to stay till my Throat be cut, before I must judge what his meaning is. In short, your whole drift is to make the *King* an *Idol*, and the People *Sots*.

And then *Thirdly*, As to a *Forreigner*, or Neighbouring *Prince*, 'tis very possible, that he may make as true a Judgment as any other: A By stander sees how the Game goes better sometimes than he that plays it. And it is well that it was so in our Case of late, else you and I might have been Disputing in a Dungeon, or a worse place; for which all *Protestant* and true *Englishmen* ought to give Thanks to God, and next to Him, to our Gracious Deliverer, K.

William.

William. Thus you may see, if Prejudice will permit, that after all your flourishing, each of the three Parties you except against, are, or at least may be, proper Judges in the Case before us.

But indeed I thought at first your Question had been this, *When a difference breaks out between the King and his People, who is a proper Judge to determine the matter between them?* For it is one thing to judge Rationally, and almost infallibly, when ill Designs are on foot; and another thing to judge between the Parties at odds, and to determine the Difference. As to the former, I believe that even your self did once judge that we were in an evil Case, and so, I am sure, did most of the *Jacobites*; and now you long to be so again, or in a worse: But in the latter Case there is no Judge upon Earth; and this I also told you before. There lies no *Appeal* but to the Court of *Heaven*, nor any way to plead the Cause, but with the *Sword*; and the God of Battel, that gives Victory, must Judge and Determine the Controversie. But this is always to be understood when all other means have been tried. "For if the Case will admit of Intreaties, sober Counsels, or Legal Appeals, they are to be used: "But if there be no room for these, or if they take no place, but "illegal force be used; that force may, nay must be resisted, or Evil "is consented to: For he that will not serve the Publick by that "means, when there is no other, does actually consent to the ruine "of it, and is a Betrayer of his Country. *They are Rebels* (says a Learned Author) *who Arm against the Government, and not they who Arm to defend it.*

In the next place, you say, *That if a King do give Authority to Rogues, and that too under his Broad Seal, to cut any of his Subjects Throats, be they more or fewer, such Persons may resist such illegal force, in defence of their Lives, and kill their Assailants too, if they be able, and justify the same by the Establish'd Laws of the Nation.*

Admirably well! Right every Word. See here the force of Truth, that cannot be stifled under the greatest prejudice. This is all the *Resistance* I contend for. Did ever any one plead for the *Resistance* of Lawful Authority? No sure: It is only the *Kings* Unlawful Commands that may be resisted, not his Lawful Ones. Yet you conclude this Point with the most Comical Fancy in the world; you say, *I have brought my Hogs to a fair Market*; when on the contrary

trary you do here justify a'l that I have said, or can say upon this *Argument*, and you have given up your *Cause* to all intents. Since I was born, did I never see such a Conclusion from such Premises.

You seem to take exception that I should say, *The King is King by Law*, but you do not well explain your self, nor tell me where your Exception lies. Yet you urge that *Maxim* of the Law, *That the King can do no wrong*, as if it were on your side, which makes altogether as much against you; for these two Expressions are of the same importance, it being all one in effect, to say he is *King by Law*, and to say, *He can do no wrong*. For what's the reason that the *King*, being but a *Man*, can do no wrong? It is not because he does not do amiss in granting illegal Commissions; for no doubt he sins in it, and does that which is *Morally Evil*: But the reason is, because he can act nothing, *qua Rex*, but by or according to *Law*; So that unless the *Law* be wrong the *King* can do none. From whence it naturally follows, that whatsoever the *King* does beside or Contrary to the *Law*, is not the Act of a *King* but of a private person.

Suppose, for Example, a *King* at one time Corrects a *Servant* moderately for a real Fault, at another time he beats him severely without a Cause, and the third time he kills him without any Provocation: These are none of them *Regal Acts*; for the *First* he does as Master of a *Family*; the *Second*, as a Man in *Passion*; the *Third*, as a *Tyrant*. Yet I do not say that this Tyrannical Act *Unkings* him: For one Act makes not a Habit, and 'tis possible he may repent of it, and lay it so to heart, as to become a better Man and a better *King* ever after. But this I do say, That a constant Course of *Arbitrary* Proceeding, so far as to lay aside the *Laws*, and actually Change the Government, does *Unking* him; and the reason is, because he destroys that by which he has his being: It is the *Law* makes him a *King*, which being removed and laid aside, he has no foundation to stand upon. This I said before, and by your Favour it is not *Gratis Dictum*, as you are pleased to say, but you have answered my paper without reading it, or at least without regarding what you Read.

Nor is this a Parallel Case with that which you put, of whipping
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your *Boy* too Severely, and thereupon ceasing to be his *Father*: There is a wide difference between the Dissolution of a *Government* and the Correction of a *Child*, the one is *Destroyed* and the other *Improved*; But if you destroy your *Child*, that is, kill him by Correcting him, this will bring the Comparison nearer home. For as a *King* Ceases to be a *King* when he has destroyed his *Kingdom*: So a *Father* ceases to be a *Father* when he has no *Child*. So that your own Comparison with a little improvement makes altogether against you. Besides there is a manifest difference between a *Natural* and a *Political* Relation: The one can never be dissolved while the parties are in being, but the other may. A good *King* may happen to lose his *Kingdom* and remain in Exile, that I know you'll readily grant: But he that Succeeds him in the Administration of *Sovereign power* is *King*, at least *de Facto*, and the *Law* requires *Allegiance* to be paid him, so that the former relation Ceases. But this puts me in mind to recommend to you. *Sr. Ro. Filmers*, *Political Babel*, whereof this is the Corner Stone, *that we are all born Slaves, and that a Son, a Subject, a Servant and a Slave, are all one, without any Difference*. If you are not yet acquainted with that worthy *Author*, its great pity you should not, for I believe you would greatly admire him.

You tell me next, To bring the Authority of *K. James* the First is all over *Jargon*, with a great deal more to the same purpose; where you make Reflections upon that Learned *King*, so shameful, and so false, that it will be a kindness to you to suppress them. I shall only hint at Two Things, and pass on. *First*, You suppose, that these imprudent Sayings, (as you imprudently call them) were spoken to Court the People at his coming to the *Crown*, and you will find them in the Ninth Year of his Reign. *Secondly*, This is the first time that I have heard the Cause of our *Civil Wars*, and the Crime of *K. Charles's Murder*, laid at his Door. I rather think with submission to better *Judgments*, that if his *Cautions* had been observed, it might have been a means to prevent the *Evils* following.

You approve, it seems, of those Determinations made in Parliament at several times, namely, under *Q. Elizabeth*, *K. James* the First, and *K. Charles* the First, with the Judgment of *Archbishop Laud*,

Laud, according as I set it down before ; for you say you cannot but grant it very *Lawful*. And I tell you once more, you have intirely given up your *Cause* ; for I cannot understand how any thing can go higher in Defence of the Late *Revolution*. But you go on with the greatest Confidence in the World, saying, It was to suppress a *Rebellion* begun by the Subjects ; *Cujus contrarium verum est*, it was to stop the *Incroachments* of *Princes* upon their *Subjects*. But this it is to write before you read ; the words are these, *When a Prince breaks in upon the Religion and Liberties of his People, they ought to stand up in their own Defence, and may also Call in a Neighbour to their Assistance*. This you may find upon Record, and taken notice of by several Learned Men of late. See especially the *Protestant Mask*, supposed to be written by Dr. C.

In the next place you falsifie my words, to make me speak what I was not thinking of ; and you jumble together a deal of *Nonsense*, and would have me to own it ; concluding with your usual Confidence, *This you'll say your self (I suppose) needs no Confutation*. So indeed I do, and with very good Reason, for 'tis your own *Stuff*, and none of mine. And thus it follows ;

You cannot but Wonder that a Man of my parts, &c. Should make no Difference betwixt a people Rebelling against their Lawful King, and a people Rebelling against God, when there is no such passage to be found, nor any thing like it. My words are these ; So long as a King remains a King, and Maintains the Laws, he is a Rebel that opposes him : But when he falls from that, he is a Rebel himself. For this I quoted the place (as may be seen) 1 Sam. 15. 32. where *Samuel Charges Saul, with Rebellion*. And I now add, that a King of *England* is as much obliged to Govern by *Law*, as the *King of Israel* was to observe *God's Commands*. As for the Story of *Amaleck*, it is only toucht upon to bring in *Samuel's* severe Reproof and *David's* taking *Arms* against him.

But say you, *Saul* was at that Instant rejected from his *Kingdom*. What trifling is this ! He was *King* so long as he liv'd, and *David* was his Subject, never pretending to the *Crown* in his life time, yet he took *Arms* to defend himself : And his behaviour towards *Saul* is a good Example both ways ; Namely, of Dutiful respect towards the *King*, in sparing his *Person* and giving him Honour and Reve-

ience. And at the same time in taking care of his own *Life and Security*.

I agree with you, that all possible Respect should be paid to the Persons of *Kings*: But I would not have them flattered, nor taught to be *Arbitrary*. I would not have them told that *Subjects* have nothing of their own, not so much as their *Souls*; that they are only the *Kings Vassals and Slaves*, and that he may take their Lives and seiz their Fortunes at his pleasure; that *God* made *Kings*, and no body can unmake them, nor ought to oppose them, whatever they do: such *Flattery and Sycophantry* makes *Kings* first aspire, and then tumble.

I come now to a *Greek Word*, which is here employ'd to no purpose, but only to shew that you are a *Learn'd Man*, which I knew before: And here you affront the plain Letter of the Scripture, being in such haste that you could not turn to the place I quoted. I shall wonder no more at your insulting over me, when the *Word of God* cannot be quiet for you.

The business was this: Whereas the *Jacobites* love to call us *Rebels*, I undertook to shew that there was a sinless *Rebellion*, and that the word was not always taken in an ill sense; for this I quoted 2 *Kings* 18.7. where it was said *the Lord was with him*, (viz. *Hezekiah*) *and he Rebelled against the King of Assyria, and served him not*; and you say it was not certainly *Rebellion*: Now whether must *Your Authority*, or the *Scripture*, carry it? If you had said this is not to be taken strictly, then you had come to an Agreement with me, as to that matter, and there needed no words about it; but that you cannot endure; I am to be run down at any rate, and that with *Triumph*, when you have not said one word to refute me. And all along I observe, that when you have the least to say, you are the most confident: I conclude this in the *Style* which you except against; *So the People of England Rebelled against K. James, for God was with them*.

I now draw near to the *Conclusion* of your Paper, where after many Windings and Doubles, like a *Hare* run almost to Death, I find you where we started, namely, at the *Act forbidding to Arms against the King, upon any pretence whatsoever*. I gave you four Reasons at large to shew that these words could not possibly be understood

derstood without a tacit *Reservation*: Nor have you offer'd ought that looks like an *Answer* to any of them.

The *First* you have quite omitted. To the *Second*, you have only brought a Comparison between an *English Monarch* and a *Bayliff*, shewing that the *King* is by great odds the worse Man of the two. The *Third* you have fairly yielded, and therein given up your Cause. To the *Fourth*, you take Exception that I should say, *The King is King by Law*; and yet you own the Maxim, *That the King can do no Wrong*. And now after all (suspecting perhaps your Weakness and Inconsistence hitherto) you come to offer something that looks at first sight like a *Dilemma*, but unfortunately it wants one of its *Members*, which it seems you have dropt in great precipitation.

The Substance of the matter is this: *Either the Parliament did consider the Consequence of making such a Law, or they did not*: If not, (say you) *they were a Club of Blockheads and meer Loggerheads*. Very good!: Here's the Consequence of that. But what if the *Parliament* did consider, what then? Why then (you say) *you have in a few words run through all I have said in this Cause*: An admirable Consequence, and a rare *Dilemma*! The one is lame of a side, and the other is *false*, unless you have run through my Papers with some small *Needle*, which I cannot perceive.

But let us Come once more to the Merits of the Cause; I grant the *Parliament* might, and I believe they did consider the Consequences of both sides, that is, with respect to the *King* and the People. And tho' tis possible they might compute amiss, yet I rather incline to thinke they did not: For Either they must Speak in General *terms*, or else they must make some Limitation or Exception. Now there is no Exception to be made, but only this, In case the *King* should become a *Tyrant*, and Endeavour to Subvert the *Government*: But how shameful and dangerous a thing must it have been to mention such a thing in an *Act of Parliament*! It might have provoked the *King* to Dissolve them, or it might have prepared the people for a new *Rebellion*. So that supposing it necessary to pass such an *Act*, it must of Necessity pass in general *Terms*, tho' it may seem hard upon the people. But it is not hard upon them at all, being understood in such a Sense as to be Consistent with other *Laws*: And either it must be so understood or it does Actually change

change the *Government*, and gives the *King* a despotick *Power*, which that the *Parliament* did ever design, is Nonsense to Imagine.

I am now at the foot of the Account, and you think you have given me a full Answer, desiring me to look once more over my Papers, and tell you, if you are not Mistaken in your Answers. I have told you already, and now I tell you again, that you are mightily mistaken, and I shall never be made to think otherwise. I have lookt over my Papers, and yours too, several times, which you I believe, have not done once, or if at all, I am sure without due Consideration. But you were so Ambitious to answer my Papers all at one Sitting, that you had far better have let it alone. Many things you have left Untoucht, and those you have, are no worse for your handling. Amongst the rest, I wonder you have taken no Notice of what I quoted you out of the famous *Barclay*, so great an Asserter of *Monarchy*, that he is Reckoned the head of your party : And yet no writing that I have seen has determined this point more directly against you. You have Ruffled the Memory of his *Royal Master* with a witness, and 'tis strange that he also should not come in for a Cast of your *Office*.

To conclude, Sir, If I were worthy to advise you, I should desire that you would forbear idle company, and not spend your Money on those that poison and corrupt you ; that you would think more, and talk less, and read with consideration such Books as are written on this subject by *Men* of the greatest Learning and Piety, and particularly that which you lent me ; that you would scribble no more in this manner *quicquid in Buccam venerit*, and think with your self whether you be fit to cope with the greatest Men in *England* : For I have said nothing here, but what such have said before me, tho not in the same words, yet in far better. However, being *Challeng'd* at first, and now again *Urg'd* with so much *Confidence* and *Triumph*, I would not wholly decline the *Argument*, and doubt not to defend it against the best of your *Party*. I call it your *Party*, but I hope I shall have occasion to retract that expression ; for I remember the time you were of another Opinion, and do expect to find you so again : For I am perswaded it is not of your own
proper

proper *Genius* that you are what you are, or what you seem to be at present ; but by having sometimes your Conversation amongst Men of *Slavish, Debauch'd and Pernicious* Principles : And this is the Case of a great many more, that were once well-affected to the present *Government*. But you have had the Advantage of a Generous *Education*, and your Learning is beyond many of your Profession , which also is one of the most *Honourable* and most *Loyal* : For, but few of your *Brethren* Comparatively are *Jacobites*. Be not you (I beseech you) toss'd to and fro with every wind of *Doctrine*, nor led away with the prating *Confidence* of Pragmatick *Fellows*. Consider what a parcel of *Atheists* and Profligates weigh, being laid in the Ballance against the Church of *England*, and other Reformed Churches, together with that vast Body of *Nobility, Gentry, Lawyers*, and Substantial *Commoners* of the *Kingdom*. They are but like the *Vermine* in the *Fable* that would needs swell to the bigness of an *O X*. And they may burst themselves with their own Poison if they please, the *Government* does not care a Straw for 'em, nor do I fear that ever they will be able to hurt it. And so Fare you well.

F I N I S.

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